

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
EB-08 /074 W
-----124334 191137Z /12

R 190910Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6956
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO
USDOCOSOUTH
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

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USDOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF
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EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PINT YO
SUBJ: NEW EDITION OF KARDELJ'S BOOK

SUMMARY: THE REVISED EDITION OF KARDELJ'S LATEST BOOK ON
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SELF-MANAGEMENT REINTRODUCES "SELF-MANAGEMENT PLURALISM"
INTO THE YUGOSLAV POLITICAL FRAMEWORK IN SUCH A WAY AS TO
PROVIDE SOME SATISFACTION TO BOTH LCY "LIBERALS" AND
"CONSERVATIVES". END SUMMARY.

1. EDVARD KARDELJ RECENTLY PUBLISHED A "SECOND SUPPLEMENTED
EDITION" OF HIS STUDY "DIRECTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT

OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT".
AMONG THE CHANGES FROM THE EARLIER EDITION ARE A SOMEWHAT
LENGTHY INTRODUCTION, A NEW SECTION ON EUROCOMMUNISM, SOME
MODIFICATION TO THE SECTION ON SELF-MANAGEMENT, AND SEVERAL
NEW POINTS RELATING TO "ULTRA-LEFTISM."

2. PERHAPS THE MOST INTERESTING CHANGES IN THIS
SECOND EDITION ARE THOSE RELATING TO KARDELJ'S
DEFINITION OF SELF-MANAGEMENT, WHICH ARE CLEARLY AN
ATTEMPT TO CALM SPECULATION ABOUT THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT
OF SELF-MANAGEMENT. RESPONDING TO THOSE WHO MAY HAVE
READ FIRST EDITION AS AN INVITATION TO "LIBERALISM",
KARDELJ SAYS "SELF-MANAGEMENT IS NOT A FORM OF SOME
ECONOMIC NEO-LIBERALISM NOR IS SELF-MANAGEMENT PLURALISM
AN UNLIMITED SPONTANEOUS COMPETITION OF VARIOUS PARTIAL
INTERESTS. RATHER SELF-MANAGEMENT IS AN ECONOMIC
POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WHICH ENABLES THE WORKER
TO EXPRESS FREELY HIS AUTHENTIC INTERESTS AND AT THE SAME
TIME ORGANIZES HIM DEMOCRATICALLY FOR COORDINATION OF
THESE INTEREST, FOR RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT, AND FOR
SOCIAL DIRECTION." KARDELJ HAS ALSO ADDED A RATHER BROAD
DEFINITION OF THE WORKER: WORKERS ARE ALL PEOPLE IN ALL
WALKS OF LIFE WHO "WORK WITH SOCIALLY OWNED MEANS OF
PRODUCTION."

3. DESPITE HIS ATTEMPT TO SET BOUNDARIES ON LIBERALS IN
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THE PARTY, KARDELJ ALSO MAKES CLEAR TO THE CONSERVATIVES
THAT HE HAS NOT AMENDED THE SPIRIT OF THE FIRST EDITION:
"OUR SOCIETY MUST HEED THE DANGER OF IDEAS AND THEORETICAL
PRESUMPTIONS OF FURTHER TRENDS OR VARIOUS PRACTICAL
SOLUTIONS BEING TURNED INTO DOGMAS". HE GOES ON TO
ADVOCATE SELF-MANAGEMENT AS A FACTOR FOR VERIFYING AND
CORRECTING SUCH PRESUMPTIONS, POINTING OUT THAT "NOTHING
SHOULD BE SO SACRED THAT IT CANNOT BE CHANGED IN ORDER TO
CEDE ITS PLACE TO SOMETHING STILL MORE PROGRESSIVE, MORE
FREE AND MORE HUMANE."

4. KARDELJ HAS CONSIDERABLY EXPANDED THE SECTION DEALING
WITH "EUROCOMMUNISM" BUT WITH NO CHANGES TO LINE ALREADY
LAID DOWN. BASICALLY, HE SAYS THAT "EUROCOMMUNISM" IS
JUSTIFIED UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN WESTERN EUROPE
AS A MEANS OF ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF THE TRUE WORKING CLASS
PARTY, AND DEVELOPING THE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE WORKING
CLASS.

5. THESE COMMENTS ON "EUROCOMMUNISM" LEAD NATURALLY TO THE
POINTS ON "ULTRA-LEFTISM". ACCORDING TO KARDELJ, THE
ULTRA-LEFTIST RADICALISM AND TERRORISM IN THE WORLD TODAY

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-----124599 191137Z /12

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CAN BE INTERPRETED AS A FAILURE OF EXISTING GOVERNMENTAL
SYSTEMS TO ALLOW SUFFICIENT INFLUENCE OF THE WORKING
CLASS AND EXERCISE OF ITS INTERESTS. KARDELJ DOES NOT
EXEMPT COMMUNIST SYSTEMS FROM THIS ACCUSATION, SINCE HE
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NOTES THAT ITS CAUSES, DOGMATISM AND POLITICAL INERTIA, ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF STALINIST IDEOLOGY AS WELL. HE IMPLIES THAT COMMUNIST SYSTEMS WHICH FAIL TO FOLLOW THE YUGOSLAV MODEL OF SELF-MANAGEMENT MAY BE IN FOR THE SAME KINDS OF TROUBLES WHICH NOW PLAGUE THE WEST.

6. KARDELJ ALSO DEALS WITH ULTRA-LEFTISM AS A YUGOSLAV PHENOMENON. YUGOSLAV ULTRA-LEFTISTS, HE SAYS, "TRY TO PROVE THAT OUR SOCIETY IS BEING DIVIDED INTO CLASSES, THAT A NEW CLASS IS BEING CREATED". IN THIS CONTEXT HE MENTIONS PAY LEVELING (URAVNILOVKA), A CONCEPT AGAINST WHICH MANY YUGOSLAV LEADERS, INCLUDING TITO, HAVE SPOKEN. CONCLUDING HIS DISCUSSION OF ULTRA-LEFTISM, KARDELJ SUGGESTS THAT THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD BE WARY OF BEING SEDUCED BY ULTRA-LEFTISM BECAUSE ITS EFFECTS ARE FREQUENTLY VERY NEGATIVE.

7. DESPITE MEDIA FANFARE BEFORE PUBLICATION OF THE FIRST EDITION, KARDELJ'S BOOK QUICKLY PASSED OUT OF PUBLIC VIEW. INITIALLY HAILED AS AN ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR 11TH LCY CONGRESS, IT WAS NOT AT ALL DISCUSSED OR DEBATED IN PUBLIC FORUMS AND THE CONCEPT IT PROMOTED, SELF-MANAGEMENT PLURALISM, WAS ONLY VAGUELY REFERRED TO FROM TIME TO TIME. IT MAY BE THAT THE CONCEPT WENT TOO FAR FOR SOME CONSERVATIVES TO ACCEPT AT THIS TIME SINCE THE BOOK MAY BE READ AS A FOUNDATION FOR POST TITO POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE NEITHER THE BOOK NOR KARDELJ WERE CRITICIZED FOR ADVANCING THE NEW CONCEPT; RATHER IT APPEARED THE BOOK SIMPLY WAS SET ASIDE FOR THE TIME BEING. DOLANC HAS OCCASIONALLY REFERRED TO IT AS ONE OF THE FACTORS IN ARRANGING FOR THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS. (ORIGINALLY PRESS CALLED IT "BASIS FOR PLATFORM" OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ELEVENTH CONGRESS.) IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT PARTY CONSERVATIVES WERE FRIGHTENED BY THE POSITIVE MANNER IN WHICH BOOK WAS RECEIVED IN THE WEST (PARTICULARLY THE US). THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT SOME OF ITS CONCEPTS ARE NOT BEING ADVANCED. INDEED, THE AMENDED PARTY STATUTE LAYS HEAVY STRESS UPON AIRING DIVERGENT VIEWS WITHIN PARTY CONTEXTS (BUT ALWAYS OUT OF PUBLIC VIEW).

8. IT WAS SUGGESTED AT THE TIME THE FIRST EDITION WAS PUBLISHED THAT ONE OF ITS PURPOSES WAS TO PROVIDE SEMI OFFICIAL LCY RESPONSE TO THE "EUROCOMMUNISM" PHENOMENON BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THE YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SYSTEM ALSO WILL PROVIDE FOR FLEXIBILITY WITHIN ITS

OWN CONTEXT. THE YUGOSLAVS, AMBIVALENT ABOUT "EUROCOMMUNISM", ARE TORN BETWEEN SUPPORT FOR THE "EUROCOMMUNIST" TENDENCIES OF THE PCI AND THE PCF AND OTHER WESTERN CPS OPPOSED TO MOSCOW AS A "CENTER," AND INSISTENCE THAT "EUROCOMMUNISM" IS NOT RELEVANT TO YUGOSLAVIA. IN HIS SECOND EDITION KARDELJ PURSUES THIS POINT BY EXPLICITLY DESCRIBING "EUROCOMMUNISM" AS JUSTIFIED IN WESTERN EUROPE (AND IMPLICITLY AS PROBABLY NOT JUSTIFIED FOR OTHER PLACES INCLUDING YUGOSLAVIA).

9. AS OFTEN THE CASE WITH KARDELJ'S WRITINGS, THE WHOLE CONTAINS SUFFICIENT SUSTENANCE FOR MANY PERSUASIONS ALONG THE BREADTH OF YUGOSLAVIA'S LIMITED POLITICAL SPECTRUM. THE TIMING OF PUBLICATION, JUST PRIOR TO THE 11TH LCY CONGRESS, SUGGESTS AN ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT KARDELJ'S ROLE AS PARTY THEORETICIAN IS INTACT DESPITE WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN OPPOSITION TO HIS VIEWS WITHIN THE PARTY. PUBLICATION ALSO SUGGESTS THAT THE FEARS OF THE MORE "LIBERAL" PARTY MEMBERS ARE TO BE ALLAYED SINCE PUBLICATION INDICATES A FORM OF OFFICIAL APPROVAL. ON THE OTHER HAND THE CONCERNS OF THE CONSERVATIVES ALSO HAVE NEEDED DAMPENING. THE SECOND EDITION SEEMS TO DO THIS BY A CLEARER EXPLANATION OF WHAT SELF-MANAGEMENT IS AND IS NOT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PUBLICATIONS, BOOKS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
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Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
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Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2304487
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEW EDITION OF KARDELJ'S BOOK SUMMARY: THE REVISED EDITION OF KARDELJ'S LATEST BOOK ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
TAGS: PINT, YO, (KARDELJ, EDVARD)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f8084186-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014